DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 292 962 CE 049 885

AUTHOR Bude, Udo
TITLE The Primary School's Role in Development: Services for the Improvement of Local Living Conditions--Facts and Fallacies from Cameroon. Workshop Series. Occasional Papers on Basic Education. Paper Nr. 2.
INSTITUTION German Foundation for International Development, Bonn (West Germany).
REPORT NO DOK-1426-C/a
PUB DATE 87
NOTE 42p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Developing Nations; Elementary Education; *Elementary Schools; Foreign Countries; *Rural Development; *School Community Relationship; *School Role
IDENTIFIERS *Cameroon

ABSTRACT

This paper emphasizes the primary school's role in the community within the context of rural development. The situation in the two anglophone provinces of the United Republic of Cameroon serves to illustrate the development prospects of a closer cooperation between primary schools and the local population. Discussion focuses on the involvement of schools in self-help projects, develops a typology for development-oriented curricula, examines services of primary schools that can be rendered to communities free of charge or in return for payment, and points out how school facilities can be used by communities. The report indicates that, although cooperation between school and community has become firmly established in Cameroon and is being supported by the provincial school authorities, the schools are neither in a position nor are they required to provide for collective improvements in the communities. (YLB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED292962

WORKSHOP SERIES

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON BASIC EDUCATION. PAPER NR 2.

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL'S ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT: SERVICES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF LOCAL LIVING CONDITIONS – FACTS AND FALLACIES FROM CAMEROON

by Dr. Udo Bude

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

J. Müller

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

DOK 1426 C/a

CG049885

DEUTSCHE STIFTUNG FÜR INTERNATIONALE ENTWICKLUNG
GERMAN FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
BONN/ FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, 1987

Preface

This is the second paper in the series of Occasional Papers on Basic Education. It deals with the role of primary school in village development.

The author, who is presently on leave from the German Foundation for International Development to assist Pakistan in outlining a basic education system for refugee primary schools in the north-west frontier province, worked at the Institute for the Reform of Primary Education (IPAR) in Buea/Cameroon for several years. He gives a realistic picture of the types of activities promoting community development which can be carried out by primary schools. Based on his experience in Cameroon the author draws conclusions for the involvement of schools in self-help projects, develops a typology for development-oriented curricula, examines services of primary schools that can be rendered to communities free of charge or in return for payment and points out how school facilities can be used by communities. In fact, there is some cooperation between school and community. However, despite all their good intentions and despite small, but successful and intensive pilot projects schools are neither in a position nor are they requested to provide for collective improvements in communities. They still have to prepare pupils for their examinations and the type and the scope of the school's development orientation is determined by the teachers. Schools cannot make up for regional imbalances caused by lack of social and economic reforms.

Josef Müller
German Foundation for International Development
Non-Formal Basic Education Section

1. Introduction

The discussion on relevant education and training for Black Africa can be traced back to the early years of European colonization. Missionary societies and colonial governments defined the educational requirements in the colonies from the viewpoint of their interests. They tried to ensure that the local manpower potential could be increased, and the so-called natives were made to accept their political status as colonized people. After political independence a process of reorientation began to emerge according to which the school should cease being an instrument of individual advancement and become a means to promote general development to meet African needs and values.

However, reform attempts over the last decades to place the primary school at the service of rural development have lagged far behind the lofty expectations which they provoked. As a rule, efforts undertaken to concentrate school activities on community requirements have met with only little interest on the part of the élite and the majority of the parents. The continued economic and cultural dependence on the industrial countries and the grave income disparities between the traditional and the modern economic sectors in Third World countries have tended to intensify the demand for an academic type of education since community and development-oriented activities undertaken at school are of no relevance in the qualifying examinations.

In this paper particular emphasis is given to the school's role in the community within the context of rural development. The situation in the two anglophone provinces of the United Republic of Cameroon serves to illustrate the development prospects of a closer cooperation between primary schools and the local population.[1/] Since the two provinces represent different cul-

---

[1/] The United Republic of Cameroon is divided into ten administrative provinces, eight of which with a total of approximately six million people are francophone and two of which with approximately 1.5 million inhabitants are anglophone.

tural and ecological environments — tropical rain forest in the Southwest and savannah in the Northwest — they may be considered as fairly representative of vast areas in Black Africa.[1/]

With the help of a factor analysis it was possible to identify in the area under research zones with different levels of infrastructural development (development zones), which provide information on the present living conditions in the sample communities. Alongside the criterion of infrastructural development level, membership of a specific cultural group is also of importance when judging the possibilities of cooperation for development between the school and the community: the type of social organization at community level is a decisive factor in determining the relations between the two institutions and their representatives.

2. A Development-oriented Primary School — New Tasks, New Chances, New Problems

The task of a development-oriented primary school extends beyond the traditional function of the school which is restricted to instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic and preparation for secondary schooling. By seeking to identify and at least partially satisfy basic needs at local level, the school should demonstrate the value of a practical and community-oriented education and help remedy the often lamented alienation from reality. A group of experts charged with the preparation of the Conference of the Ministers of Education of the francophone countries of Africa in 1978 summarized the criticisms levelled at the school as follows:

[1/] Research was conducted in 79 communities selected on the basis of a stratified random sample. For details see IPAR-Buea (1977) Report on the Reform of Primary Education (Buea, April) and BERGMANN, H./BUDE, U. (1977) A Survey of Primary Schools and their Communities for General Education Policy-Making: The case of two Provinces in Cameroon, in: International Review of Education (XXIII/1), pp. 3-34.

> "The school as a social institution is cut off from real life.
> (1) It does not carry out its basic task, which is to transmit knowledge, stimulate aptitudes, and change behaviour.
> (2) It is not rooted in the environment.
> (3) It is left entirely to teachers. The socio-politico-economic environment has no share in it.
> (4) It does not prepare the citizen to carry out any function in life.
> (5) It fosters economic imbalance.
> (6) It is over-selective and anti-democratic (inequality of opportunity, immense waste).
> (7) It is unprofitable in proportion both to its costs and to the quality of its products.
> The school now rejects traditional education and dismisses it from its content and its pedagogy. But it offers children no equivalent either in terms of productive pedagogy, nor in terms of moral, civic or cultural life".1/

The benefit of a school orientated to the people's needs is seen to reside, in particular in rural areas, in creating a potential which can promote self-supporting, independent development and enable the advantages and disadvantages of proposed innovations to be objectively compared:

> "In a self-reliant approach to education (and development), the community's capacity to stand on its own feet is reinforced. ... It enables people to weigh the pros and cons of what comes to them from outside and to choose accordingly".2/

The range of activities pursued in such a school extends from an examination of the physical and social environment to demonstrations of innovative ideas and practical extension work undertaken at the request of the community, usually in cooperation with other institutions involved in development work. The role of the primary school as defined above becomes increasingly difficult to implement; the further the teacher becomes removed

---

1/ Report of Expert Commission B, Ministers Conference, Ouagadougou, 1978, quoted from RAHNEMA, MAJID (1978) Problems of Basic Education in the Emerging world, in: CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, Education 'At the Base' in Developing Countries. (Four papers prepared for the CESO Symposium held in The Hague/The Netherlands, 5 to 8 June 1978), pp. 1-15, p. 7.

2/ Idem, p. 6.

from his basic role as instructor in the main academic subjects and the more he orients his work towards community development, the greater are the demands placed on preservice- and in-service training. As soon as the role of the teacher is redefined to include local development activities and is sanctioned as such at national level, it is reasonable to expect that the local population will accept this new and expanded role. This in turn is more likely to take place, the greater the need at local level for improvements, the better the school and the teachers are prepared for undertaking such tasks, the fewer the opportunities for consulting specialized extension services, and the greater the importance attributed to community-oriented activities in the selection process determining entry to secondary schooling.

We will now examine in detail the following problems:

(1) What do the community members themselves consider to be necessary to improve their situation, and, more particularly, which needs are articulated in community meetings and personal consultations with local leaders?

(2) Which type of self-help projects can be carried out and to what extent? Is there sufficient demand for the school to fulfil an expanded role which would include development activities?

(3) Which general types of activities promoting community development can be carried out by primary schools?

(4) Which activities have been carried out in the past in Cameroon by the primary schools acting for and with the local community?

This investigation will thus focus not on the implementation of a concept under the special circumstances construed for a pilot project with a limited spatial impact, but instead on the daily school routine in a system in which the basic traits of development and community orientation have become firmly established over several decades and have become an integral part of the curriculum.[1/]

[1/] For further details see BUDE, U. (1984) Gemeindeorientierte Primarschulen als Faktor ländlicher Entwicklung in Schwarzafrika. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen eines Reformkonzepts (Curriculum-oriented Primary Schools and Rural Development. Possibilities and Limitations of a Reform Concept) (Hamburg).

2.1. Self-help Projects and Basic Needs

The primary school is expected to initiate and implement self-help projects within the community. The basic assumption here is that the community has in the past made no or too little effort to initiate or implement projects and that the school can therefore contribute towards rural development by becoming active in this way. We will therefore try to clarify whether a real need exists for the school to discharge an 'animation' role in initiating self-help projects, which basic needs are regarded as the most urgent, and whether the primary school is in fact in a position to initiate, cooperate in and promote such activities.

Self-help projects are common practice in the anglophone provinces of Cameroon. All cultural groups were found to have a community work tradition based either on the principle of mutual support or on a commercial form of paid work or again on joint effort within the framework of the group's social organization. Mutual assistance, for example in house-building or agricultural work, is an old African tradition which is still practised in rural communites; or young men may come together to form a group carrying out specialized agricultural work for individuals in return for payment. In the more remote areas of the Southwest, the maintenance of vital communication routes and bridges is a task which is the joint responsibility of all adult males. In the Northwest, the hierarchically organized Tikar groups have a tradition of working the fields of the local ruler in order that the latter can effectively discharge his political and cultural functions.

The concept of group work for problem-solving purposes is thus not something which the communities in the anglophone provinces will be learning for the first time from the example set by the school. The investigation showed that self-help was widely practised and certainly did not depend on the school for its origins.

Of the teachers interviewed 85 percent referred to at least one self-help project which had been carried out in the local community in the last two years. One third of these teachers were able to refer to three or more projects. In six communities the chiefs reported that they had carried out their projects without any form of external aid, although these projects were all such as to require no major technical or financial resources. In 27% of the communities, there had been recourse to government agencies for advice and financial support for planned projects, while the manpower required was available free of charge within the community. In one third of all communities it was reported to be customary to collect a considerable sum from the community for a given project before approaching government agencies for advice and supplementary finance; for the implementation of the project, local manpower was again available.

The example of the construction of water supply facilities on a self-help basis nevertheless showed that in recent years fewer communities are prepared to make large-scale financial sacrifices for the construction of community facilities. The reasons for this reluctance are, firstly, steadily rising building costs, which in turn require an increasing contribution from the various community members before work can even begin on the project; and secondly, that communities which have not yet been supplied with the essential facilities of rural infrastructure are adapting a wait-and-see attitude in the light of broadly-based integrated development projects to be carried out by the state in the Northwest of Cameroon to improve rural living conditions and supply facilities such as piped water and health centres. In order to increase earnings from coffee cultivation, an important source of foreign currency and income for the state (which is at present jeopardized by superannuated tree stocks), farmers are being given additional incentives in the form of infrastructure facilities which would previously have been obtainable only by self-help measures.

In those communities in which projects had been implemented, self-help associations had usually been responsible for preparing and implementing the project. The associations were usually led by the local community leader, with the schoolteacher serving as secretary, taking the minutes of community meetings and writing letters of request to national bodies in connection with support for the project.

What type of projects were involved? Since the teachers who were first questioned in this respect had often lived only a few months in the community (average = one new posting every two years) and were therefore not familiar with local conditions, the political leaders (chief, elder, counsellor) were asked for additional information on the self-help projects carried out. By far the most often cited type of project was the construction of school premises or classrooms and roads: paths, roads and classrooms had been constructed in three out of four communities, often with only insignificant funds and exclusively local building materials. In addition, bridges, assembly rooms, churches and market places had been provided in every second community.

Table 1: Self-help Projects in Communities

Type of project	Communities	
	number	%
Classrooms (primary school)	61	77
Roads and paths	58	73
Bridges	43	54
Traditional assembly rooms	38	48
Churches	36	46
Markets	33	42
Football pitches	31	39
Drinking water facilities	25	32
Communal fish ponds	6	8

The quality of the work thus carried out is largely dependent on local economic capacity and political organization, the latter factor determining the extent to which the inhabitants are or can be motivated to raise funds and/or supply their labour for such a project. For example, classrooms or assembly rooms can be constructed with modern building materials (bricks, cement, corrugated iron) in an economically prosperous community, with the self-help element possibly being restricted to financing only and the work being carried out by a contractor. In contrast, in less prosperous communities such a project is carried out with local building materials and greater use of local manpower, with only a few jobs being assigned to external specialists. A technically sophisticated and costly project such as the laying of a water supply is approached as a self-help project in only one in three communities. The scope of these community projects thus shows that the population is accustomed to resorting to joint action in order to improve local living conditions where such action is feasible and necessary.

In order to obtain a more detailed picture of the felt needs in these communities, information was sought regarding which measures were considered to be necessary in order to improve local conditions and make the community more attractive as a place to live in. Since the people interviewed were primarily local political leaders, their responses also included an element of political rhetoric which does not always accurately reflect the needs structure of individual community members or groups. For example, a shortage of suitable arable land for prospective farmers or of an agricultural extension service for those with only smallholdings is not even mentioned in such discussions because the population groups concerned are not invited to the discussion and the discussants themselves belong to the local elite, for whom these problems are insignificant. The problems which are of interest to the latter group may in

turn be regarded as insignificant by other community groups. Under such circumstances, political leaders interviewed on the vital improvements needed in their communities may demand a senior primary school leading to secondary school entrance, despite the fact that the existing lower primary school is poorly attended. A community does not normally express itself as a homogenous unit. Comparative studies of community development projects in Third World countries indicate the difficulties emerging from grassroot level participation. The power structure of a community seems to determine to a large degree the locally made decisions;

> "Participation can be a recipe for rule by local bosses; bureaucrats can be more concerned with justice than local bully boys or magnates".1/

In order to deal with this problem and achieve maximum representation of all the various community groups in the investigation, the questions concerning the improvement of local conditions and the corresponding measures to be taken were put in the form of a group interview/discussion. It was usual that the majority of the adult population participated in such discussions under the guidance of the local chiefs, and in this way one could ensure that a broader range of proposals was forthcoming than could have been expected from individual interviews with local political representatives.2/ However, although it was possible to involve a broader range of the general public in identifying basic needs, it cannot be claimed that it was possible to compile an exhaustive list of all the needs of the various community groups. Nonetheless, the responses can be regarded as indicators of desired changes which met with the support of a large part of the local population.

1/ DORE, R. and MARS, Z. (Eds.) (1981) Community Development - Comparative Case Studies in India, the Republic of Korea, Mexico and Tanzania (Croom Helm, London/UNESCO, Paris), p. 31.

2/ A more time- and labour-intensive investigation method based on a sample from every community would have been able to produce individual needs specified in accordance with social origin and position, with a subsequent analysis of the various factors revealing the need structures per community.

Table 2: Suggestions for Improving Living Conditions

Priority	Proposal	Area of need				% of all communities
		agri-culture	infra-structure	community growth	education	
1.	Health/maternity centre		x	x		75.9
2.	Water supply		x	x		60.8
3.	Construction of roads and/or bridges		x			45.6
4.	Improvement of existing roads and bridges		x			39.2
5.	Marketing facilities for cash crops	x				35.4
6.	Agricultural extension	x				25.3
7.	Senior primary school				x	24.1
8.	Abolition of primary school fees				x	22.8
9.	Equipment for modern agricultural methods (fertilizer, tools, seeds, etc.)	x				22.8
10.	Prevention of emigration/attraction of settlers			x		21.5
11.	Creation of job opportunities			x		19.0
12.	Establishment of agencies of national authorities		x	x		17.7
13.	Secondary schools of all kinds		x		x	16.5
14.	Agricultural credits	x				13.9
15.	Processing facilities for cash crops	x				12.7
16.	Electricity supply		x			11.4
17.	Labour-saving machinery, e.g. maize mills		x			8.9
18.	Supply of selected high-quality seeds and seedlings	x				5.1

Note: This table is based on statements made by local chiefs, elders, and spokesmen. The proposals were made either at community assemblies in which all inhabitants could participate or during discussions held with local chiefs and their advisors. Every proposal was recorded.

The introductory question was made as open as possible in order to avoid influencing the reply. The question was as follows: "What does your village/quarter need most in order to go ahead?" (The question was put in English or Pidgin, as necessary).

All proposals advanced by the community representatives were recorded. No adjustment was made with respect to the sequence of the suggestions or the people advancing the proposals. This table reflects the nature of the proposals and the frequency with which each was expressed in the 79 communities of the sample.

First place among the local improvements regarded as urgent is held by health care and welfare provision. Medical care in the event of illness and childbirth and the prevention of disease via access to safe water remain, now as before, the main problems at community level. In second place comes the demand for the construction or repair of roads and bridges. This was followed by demands for better agricultural production and marketing facilities and improvements of children's education in particular the abolition of primary school fees.

The improvement proposals put forward were subsequently analysed in terms of the development level reached by the community concerned. Accordingly, the wishes regarding the four areas of agriculture, infrastructure, community growth, and education were each classified according to the six zones which had emerged from the factor analysis of the level of infrastructural development in the anglophone provinces of Cameroon. The average frequency with which problems were expressed per community, classified in terms of development zone and area of need, permitted the identification of priorities both within a specific zone (what type of needs require urgent satisfaction?) and within an area of need (in which types of community do certain types of need, e.g. agricultural needs, have what degree of urgency?).

Table 3: Average Number of Proposals Expressed per Community, Classified according to Development Zone and Area of Need

Development zone	Proposals per area of need							
	agriculture		infrastructure		community growth		education	
	no.	priority	no.e	priority	no.	priority	no.	priority
Isolated rural communities (1)	1.20	2.5	1.20	2.5	1.80	1.0	0.50	4.0
Remote rural communities (2)	1.44	3.0	1.81	1.0	1.54	2.0	0.57	4.0
Marginal rural communities (3)	0.56	3.5	1.11	2.0	1.27	1.0	0.56	3.5
Poorly served rural communities (4)	1.16	3.0	2.02	1.0	1.25	2.0	0.84	4.0
Well served rural communities (5)	1.53	2.0	1.85	1.0	1.0	3.0	0.65	4.0
Communities in urban and suburban areas (6)	0.79	3.0	1.93	1.0	1.28	2.0	0.67	4.0
Total	1.16	2.8	1.64	1.4	1.36	1.8	0.63	3.9

Note: Health/maternity centre was assimilated into "community growth", water supply into "infrastructure", and senior education facilities into "education" (cf. table 2).

The priority figure is arrived at from the frequency of mention in each development zone, with highest priority being represented by the figure 1 and lowest priority by the figure 4.

In isolated rural communities the majority of the proposals (average 1.8 mentions per community) related to securing the survival of the community as a social and economic unit. It is particularly in communities of this type that emphasis is placed on discouraging the exodus of able-bodied men and women and attracting settlers from outside. The preoccupation with overcoming economic and infrastructural isolation in these communities is so strong that the proposals relating to education (0.5 mentions per community) appear insignificant in comparison.

In remote rural communities improvements to the infrastructure are regarded as being more urgent than measures to prevent emigration. However, pre-occupation with guaranteeing the viability of the villages is even stronger than the desire to improve the situation by means of agricultural measures

(community growth = 1.54 mentions, agriculture = 1.44 mentions per community). Here, as in all types of community, the proposals relating to education were at the bottom of the list, although educational needs were mentioned slightly more frequently here than in isolated rural communities.

In marginal rural communities, community growth was again found to have greater priority than infrastructure. In third place, much further down the list, are proposals relating to agriculture and education, both obtaining the same average number of mentions. Communities in this category suffer greatly from the discrepancy between the shortage of agricultural jobs on account of limited access to markets and state extension services on the one hand and the relative proximity of small administrative/economic centres on the other, which are often an attractive proposition for community members who are willing to seek work elsewhere.1/

Communities in rural areas with inadequate infrastructure (poorly served) are preoccupied by the absence of institutions providing vital services and facilitating the marketing of agricultural products. Accordingly, the representatives of such villages regularly proposed more measures relating to infrastructure (average 2.02 proposals); these were followed much further down the list by proposals relating to community growth (1.25 mentions) and agriculture (1.16 mentions). Although here, too, proposals relating to education were lower in number than those relating to other areas of need, the 0.84 mentions obtained here represented the highest frequency for this area of need. Although no immediate development effects are expected from the school in communities of this category, the general attitude is one of hope that the children will have an opportunity of being materially better off than the present generation if they are able to attend primary and possibly secondary school. This attitude corresponded with the strong call expressed in these villages for the abolition of primary school fees and the creation of proper primary schools in communities which have only a lower primary school.

Proposals relating to infrastructure facilities were also at the top of the list in communities in well-served rural areas. However, there was this difference that greater emphasis was placed on more sophisticated facilities than the minimal equipment called for elsewhere. Since these communities normally already have the basic equipment (roads, health centre, water supply, etc.), the call for additional facilities, e.g. electrification, labour-saving agricultural machinery, agencies of government and non-government services, is based on the belief that these would bring benefits to all members of the community.

1/ Cf. also BARBIER, J. C., et al. (1979) L'exode rural au Cameroun (Yaoundé).

In the well-served rural areas the proposals expressed focused on agriculture. With an average of 1.53 mentions this type of community manifests the highest frequency of proposals relating to agriculture. As is the case with regard to infrastructure, the proposals made relating to agriculture here were more differentiated and more sophisticated than in other types of community because of the prior existence of profitable agricultural activity (marketing facilities, proximity to markets, extension services). The proposals made included the provision of credit to increase agricultural productivity, information for farmers on higher-grade seeds and seedlings, the distribution of selected plants, prompt action in the event of infestation or disease, and, finally, the establishment of processing facilities for agricultural products. Community growth played only a subordinate role, reflecting the fact that these communities in any case attract people from other parts of the country. Other proposals related to the creation of job opportunities, in particular for those members of the younger generation who cannot or do not want to work in agriculture.

In communities in urban and suburban areas, new problems are emerging in respect of infrastructure as a result of the higher population density. Each community in this category advanced almost two proposals (1.93) relating to the provision of safe drinking water, electricity or access to public authorities and services. Other factors which were regarded as important in these communities were the creation of job opportunities and better medical care. Proposals relating to these fields were classified under the heading 'community growth'.

A comparison between the proposals made by the communities to satisfy their felt needs and the self-help projects carried out reveals an apparent contradiction: despite the fact that the construction of classrooms is the most frequently recorded self-help measure, testifying a genuine interest in education on the part of the parents, proposals relating to education do not feature predominantly in the proposals made to improve local living conditions. One possible explanation for this is that both missionary societies and the state required of the community a number of preparatory measures before schooling could commence: teachers were not appointed until one or more classrooms and the corresponding teachers' accommodation had been built. Such preparatory activities were possible only by means of self-help and always reflected local organizational

and financial capacities. That the community should bear the costs of constructing and maintaining school facilities has become a tradition so strong that this field of self-help activity still predominates. Of similar importance is the maintenance of roads and bridges in communities which are not linked with other communities by all-weather roads.

With regard to educational facilities, the communities believe that they have already provided enough on their own initiative. Accordingly, the improvements mentioned relate to other areas of need. Schooling requires recurrent expenditure, even if tuition fees are not payable in government schools. What is lacking at community level is the equipment which is customary in other communities with more advanced infrastructure (electricity, water, etc.). For this reason the population calls for action promising visible and tangible improvements or, alternatively, action in the education field which reduces the cost of schooling to the individual (abolition of school fees) or which could help local children to advance as far as possible within the education system. This is reflected in the desire expressed for full primary schools in those communities which at present have only a lower primary school or for secondary schools in those communities which cannot yet offer such facilities.

For a primary school in which participation in development projects is an important component of the curriculum, the foregoing analysis raises a number of issues which are useful in crystallizing the concept and the circumstances required for its application:

(1) The large number of self-help projects indicates that community work under local conditions and in the interest of the locality is part of the people's culture in which emphasis has been transferred from traditional activities (construction of assembly halls) to the creation of modern institutions (school, church).

(2) Although self-help projects are often undertaken for the benefit of the school insofar as they facilitate instruction (construction of classrooms, teachers' accommodation), the majority are not carried out at the initiative of the teacher.

(3) The possibilities and means of improving the local situation vary according to the development level of the community concerned. For example, the needs expressed in communities in isolated and remote rural areas differ in nature and quality from those expressed in poorly served and well-served rural communities and in urban communities. Consequently, even ad hoc primary school participation in projects will also vary according to the development zone in which the community is located.

(4) The local resources available for carrying out the necessary measures are already exhausted. Technically and organizationally sophisticated projects to improve living conditions, for example electrification or provision of drinking water such as are called for in better equipped communities, are feasible only with external assistance. Projects of this kind surpass local financial and manpower capacity; they require expertise and skilled labour which cannot be supplied even by specially trained teachers.

(5) A school curriculum based primarily on self-help projects finds its scope of action diminished as the community becomes equipped with basic infrastructure. The school has fewer opportunities to initiate or participate in self-help projects because the increase in technical complexity leaves little room for the type of contribution which the school can render.

The opportunities open to the primary school in the direction of improving local conditions are thus defined by the infrastructure/development level of the community concerned, with the direct impact of the teacher and pupils on community projects becoming increasingly limited. Before proceeding to examine the community-oriented activities pursued by the primary schools in Cameroon, it is expedient to investigate the fundamental question of how the school's interest in development problems can be accommodated in the curriculum.

2.2. A Typology of Development-oriented Curricula

The efforts undertaken by educational planners to use the primary school for rural development are normally accompanied by global and generalized statements which provide little infor-

mation on how these theories are to be implemented in practice.[1] Accordingly, we need to examine how and for what purpose the local environment can become a component of learning and how the resulting knowledge can be applied for improvements.

Assuming that the local community becomes the focal point of interest in the primary school, this can imply that the teacher endeavours to clarify his teaching by taking concrete examples from the immediate environment. But it can also be that the teacher and his pupils deal with a specific problem emerging from their investigation of local conditions, e.g. with the problem of the migration of youths and adults towards urban areas, and that attention is thus drawn to such a problem or that solutions to the problem are proposed. Whereas in the first instance the community orientation is reflected in the fact that the teaching is illustrated by reference to the local conditions and problems are opened up for discussion, in the second instance the community orientation is related to solving the problems confronting the community. Here, the school deviates from its standpoint as a spectator and acts — with varying degrees of intensity — upon the existing situation in order to bring about improvements or remedy shortcomings.

The contribution of the school towards solving community problems normally involves demonstrating a technique which the local adult population then imitate (e.g. use of simple drinking water filters, spacing out plants) or, alternatively, the school initiates and participates in development projects which are selected to a greater or lesser extent by the community. However, the school's interaction with the community is not restricted to development projects: cooperation can assume various forms which are in turn reflected in the curricula.

[1] Cf., for example, the following excerpt from a report submitted by the UNESCO REGIONAL OFFICE in Dakar, Senegal: "The Primary Education Program should act as an agent of productive development adapted to the local environment and in association with the community". UNESCO, REGIONAL OFFICE FOR EDUCATION IN AFRICA (BREDA) (1974) Final Report of the Seminar on the Reform of the Primary School Curriculum (Dakar), p. 13.

Saunders refers in this connection to 'localistic' curricula, which are considered to exist when local factors assume a decisive role in teaching.[1/] Proceeding from the general typology developed here, the following paragraphs seek to identify those areas of instruction in primary schools in Black Africa in which a local orientation is a determining factor in the curriculum. In this attempt to draft a typology of community-oriented curricula, attention should be paid not only to the fields in which the school and the community interrelate but also to the importance and significance of this local orientation within the curriculum as a whole. This can be achieved firstly by contrasting community-relevant areas and learning objectives, and secondly by weighting the importance of community-oriented activities undertaken at school in terms of their relevance in the primary school-leaving examinations.

Among the curriculum elements of local relevance which are specified in the typology set out in the following table, it is striking that the activities concerned are primarily supplementary activities (1-5) which, although representing a necessary part of the curriculum in terms of learning objectives have little or no relevance in the final examination. Since the examination system thus offers little motivation for a development orientated curriculum, attempts are being made in a number of countries to mobilize the necessary commitment in other ways.

[1/] "Localistic curricula are ... those courses of study or whole school curricula in which the specific forms of life of the pupils and their parents, the local environment, and the social practices of work and politics in a locality constitute the main curricular content", SAUNDERS, M. S. (1979) Locality and the Curriculum: Towards a Positive Critique, in: Comparative Education (vol. 15, no. 2, June), pp. 217-230, p. 218.

Table 4: Typology for Development-oriented Primary School Curricula

Elements of local relevance	Characteristics	Learning objectives				Examination relevance
		1	2	3	4	
(1) Development projects	Community problems become the subject of instruction; situation analysis; preservation, improvement; intervention by teacher and pupils	x			x	./.
(2) Services for the community	General auxiliary work for community members against payment (agricultural services, building projects, etc.)		x			./.
(3) Adult education, spare time activities	School building and facilities are available to the local population during non-school hours; school organizes educational and spare time events				x	./.
(4) Agricultural and industrial production	Nexus between instruction and productive work; contribution of the school to cover own operational costs		x			./.
(5) Traditional culture	Customs of the various cultural groups are reflected at the school; promotion of pupil creativity by providing instruction in local/traditional forms of expression	x		x		./.
(6) Pedagogic medium	Methodology used in applying the centrally determined curriculum; local environment as a learning laboratory and means of demonstration; no intervention by the pupils	x				+

Notes

Learning objectives:
1 = knowledge of the local environment
2 = acceptance of the necessity of physical labour
3 = preservation of traditional culture
4 = training to solve local problems by joint action

Examination relevance:
+ = important in the primary school leaving examination or secondary school entrance examination
./. = no or little relevance in the above examinations

The development orientation can either be one part of a comprehensive national political programme which the teachers are obliged to support, as is the case in Tanzania for example, or it is promoted by means of material incentives, e.g. by means of a nationwide competition between all educational establishments. The latter has been practised in Cameroon since the institutionalization of a national work prize for schools at various levels of the educational system. Since 1976 monetary awards have been made annually to schools down to the district level which have demonstrated a distinct community orientation (development projects, their own school farm, fostering of traditional crafts and culture etc.).

The development orientation of the curriculum with its relevance to the local environment is of general significance for fostering intellectual abilities which require that abstract principles and laws be made comprehensible. If the examinations are modified so that rote recall of factual knowledge is replaced by problem-solving tasks which draw on the pupils immediate environment, then community and environment focussed teaching gains in importance. However, the development orientation in this case is a pedagogical medium only, and has no direct impact on the environment.[1/]

Since the efforts made in the late 1960s to reform primary education in Cameroon, attempts have been made to use the local environment for the development of cognitive abilities and also as the animation centre for community development. In the francophone provinces relevant concepts and materials were developed by the Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée à Vocation Rurale (IPAR), Yaoundé.[2/] However, this reform has had only little influence on educational practice at national level. Since the

[1/] Cf. the approaches made towards changing the examination systems in the primary schools in Kenya in recent years. MAKAU, B. M., SOMERSET, H. C. A. (1978) Primary School Leaving Examinations, Basic Intellectual Skills, and Equity: Some Evidence from Kenya, in: KING, K. (Ed.) Literacy Research in Developing Countries, op. cit., pp. 45-79.

[2/] Cf., inter alia, IPAR-YAOUNDE (1974) L'étude des milieux en vue de leur transformation: Une discipline nouvelle au cours de la réforme de l'enseignement primaire (Yaoundé).

politically favourable reform atmosphere which prevailed in the mid-70s, efforts at reform have stagnated and have met with increasing criticism with respect to the feasibility of a development-oriented concept.[1/]

In contrast, in the anglophone provinces of Cameroon a certain type of community and development orientation has for decades been an established part of the primary school curriculum. These activities were retained after the advent of political independence, although they have largely remained as secondary activities. There follows a detailed analysis of these additional activities of the primary school as found in the anglophone provinces of Cameroon and an in-depth examination of their alleged relevance to development.

2.3. Primary School 'Development Projects' at Community Level

In the anglophone provinces of Cameroon, primary schools have for decades been undertaking work for the benefit of the community or are at least accustomed to participating in larger-scale self-help projects. However, the quality and scope of these activities can hardly qualify them as 'development projects'. A realistic assessment of the possibilities open to the primary school and its teachers shows that there is no aspiration towards sophisticated extension projects: the terms of reference are limited to tasks which are feasible without major technical and financial resources. The education administration refers in this connection to village projects, although such projects may just as well be undertaken in urban areas. The annual report of the education administration of the Southwest Province states, for example:

[1/] Cf. LE THANH KHOI's far-reaching claim for a development function of the reformed primary school on the basis of self-determination of problems by the community, idem (1976) Aspects of Education Reform and Planning in Cameroon (Draft Report, English Version) (Buea/Cameroon), p. 17 f.

"The school should carry out village projects with older children - e.g. cleaning the water point or market place, or draining marshy areas".1/

The school is thus required to function as the inspector of hygiene in the community and exert authority at regular intervals to ensure the cleanliness of public facilities. Table 5 provides information on the various types of assistance or projects encountered in the sample. The school's contribution to cleaning market places, water points and places of assembly, etc. required by the education authorities is a well-established part of the school's additional activities undertaken for the benefit of the community. This type of community support is regarded as being a natural duty of the primary school and, quoted by 92 % of the schools, ranks highest in the list of activities recorded.

Table 5: Primary School Services Rendered Free of Charge for the Community

Type of service	In % of all schools/ communities
1. Cleansing of public facilities	92
2. Hygiene demonstrations	52
3. Organization of sports and leisure activities	35
4. Demonstration of agricultural methods	24
5. Harvesting work	23
6. Auxiliary work on the maintenance of earth roads and simple bridges	23
7. Care of the old and/or the sick	14
8. Transportation of building materials (sand, stones, timber), production of clay blocks for community institutions	13
9. Literacy courses for adults	10

1/ PROVINCIAL DELEGATION OF EDUCATION (1972/73) General Report on Primary School Inspection (South West Provincial Delegation of Education, Buea), p. 27.

Other school activities which perhaps bear a greater resemblance to development projects follow well down the list. Co-operation in harvesting or in maintaining earth roads and simple bridges were each cited by 23% of all schools. The work involved here is usually simply filling up potholes during and after the rainy season in order to maintain connections with the outside world. This work is carried out jointly by all community members, often with the participation of the school. The situation is similar with respect to the construction of community facilities in which the schools seek to assist where possible. Thirteen percent of all schools reported helping the community with transportation services or the manufacture of sun-dried clay bricks for such projects.

The services rendered free of charge for the community also include the organization of sports and other leisure activities, care of the aged and the sick, and literacy courses for adults. These activities have little in common with one-off projects, being for the main part the sum of continuous action taken in a specific field. In more than one third of the communities the teachers were found to organize sports activities, in particular soccer games. In remote communities, it was again the teachers who were responsible for initiating those leisure activities which deviated from the traditional activities: teachers in such areas were found to organize meetings at which the local youth listened to records and danced to modern music. Occasional services and favours carried out by teachers or pupils for the aged and/or the sick were reported in 14 % of all schools. Finally, 10 % of the primary schools were reported to be providing literacy courses for adults.

In addition to implementing or participating in projects or activities undertaken for the community free of charge, mention should be made of activities which, although carried out at school, are expected to have an influence on the members of the community. Parts of the curriculum seek to bring about behavioural changes among the pupils which should also serve as examples to the adult population, e.g. new practices in hygiene

and new agricultural methods. Here, emphasis is not so much on individual measures as on the entirety of instructional activities. Observance of specific cleanliness standards at school, e.g. drinking only boiled water and the construction of latrines, are intended to have a positive effect on the other community members and stimulate them to imitation. In 25 % of the communities the teachers considered that they had displayed exemplary behaviour towards the entire community as far as hygiene is concerned. Regarding agriculture, 24 % of the teachers reported that they had been able to demonstrate modern agricultural methods to the local farmers.[1/]

The activities performed by the school for the local population are not organized measures with a pedagogic orientation. Pupils and teachers do not seek to identify needs or problems and then solve these in joint action with the local inhabitants. The school's contribution to the community is something of a routine matter, repeated services which have gained a firm place in school-community relations. The annual cleaning weeks during which the pupils clean market places, water points and assembly places are the most obvious examples of this routine. The other activities are mainly auxiliary activities undertaken on the basis of pupil labour. All these goodwill activities are parts of the extended curriculum, although no effort is made to use such activities to clarify the relation between instructional theory and physical practice or to promote specific skills, e.g. the organization of group work.

The nature and scope of the services rendered by the primary school for the community are dependent on the local level of infrastructural development and the size of the school. Senior primary schools were found to engage in development activities more frequently than lower primary schools. Since in these latter schools the young pupils are not physically able to

[1/] The effects of rural science teaching in school are not analysed here. The research showed however only marginal spread effects in the communities, since the majority of teachers themselves preferred 'traditional' methods of farming.

carry out strenuous work, their development activities are restricted to cleaning public facilities. The higher the development level of a community, the greater is the range and frequency of its services. Senior schools in poorly served and well served rural communities are particularly active in their development commitment. The proportion is reversed when the school has fourteen or more classes, i.e. ca. 700 or more children, and the school is located in or near an urban area. Auxiliary services and participation in community development projects is virtually no longer possible in such schools because specialized facilities e.g. public works departments, professional community workers, etc. are already available in such localities.

Apart from in its cleaning activities, the school fails to improve living conditions in those communities which still lack the basic services. Firstly, there is an absence of self-help projects in these communities in which the school could otherwise participate, and, secondly, any participation in such activities is restricted by the fact that the majority of the schools in such locations are only lower primary schools with pupils who are too young to undertake hard physical labour. Nonetheless, some services are rendered on an ad hoc basis by the teachers, although these can hardly be qualified as development projects. Equally in default are efforts to use the schools' community services as a point of departure for an in-depth examination by the pupils of the local situation. Despite the local relevance of school activities, the distinction is maintained between the teaching in school which is of relevance to the examinations, and the community-related services which are carried out outside the school. The absence of any relation between the knowledge and skills imparted in the school to the local environment cannot be compensated by manual auxiliary services alone.[1/]

1/ See: BUDE, U. (1983) The impact of school farms on the local community. Evidence and proposals from Cameroon, in: Bude, U. (Ed.) Teaching Agricultural and Environmental Science in Primary School (Bonn), pp. 333-358.

2.4. Services Rendered by the School to the Community in Return for Payment

The services supplied free of charge by primary schools as described above can be contrasted with the services provided in return for payment. Here, the teacher makes a verbal agreement with the commissioner, whereby the school is committed to performing a specific service for a specific amount of remuneration (contract work). The contract work undertaken by the school consists of auxiliary services either in agriculture or in housebuilding, in particular when the houses in question are constructed with local materials (manufacture of sun-dried bricks, transportation of materials, etc.). Such activities generate earnings for the school which are deployed for the maintenance of facilities or for special projects. For the commissioner, recourse to the school is considerably less costly than recourse to other manpower sources. This type of community-related activity has acquired a firm place in school-community relations, although it is completely without significance in the curriculum. The services rendered are drawn into no relation with the teaching in school and in some cases are even found to restrict the scope of the standard subjects of instruction.

In 58 % of the primary schools evidence was found of non-agricultural auxiliary services having been rendered in return for payment within the past school year. In 42 % of the schools agricultural services were provided during the past school year for which the pupils and teachers had received payment (harvesting, transportation of seeds or produce, soil cultivation, etc.). Commissioning such contract work from the school depends on the following factors:

- the size of the primary school,
- the regional location of the school (Southwest or Northwest Province),
- the level of infrastructural development of the local community,
- the traditional custom of commissioning agricultural work as a communal activity to specific groups.

Senior primary schools which have a substantial number of older pupils in the upper classes were found to engage in contract work more regularly than lower primary schools with mainly younger pupils. The school's opportunities for generating earnings by community work are considerably more favourable in the Northwest Province than in the Southwest Province, in particular as regards work of a non-agricultural nature. Whereas in the Southwest Province farming is primarily carried out by farm labourers from other regions or, alternatively, the right of cultivation is linked with the surrender of large parts of the harvest, in the Northwest Province agriculture is primarily a family affair. Farmers in the Southwest Province are thus more likely to employ paid labourers than schoolchildren for the various tasks necessary during the agricultural year. In the Northwest Province, the harvest season represents a useful opportunity for the school to relieve the overworked family members, especially in the harvesting of coffee.

The assistance of the school in house construction activities is found primarily in the Northwest Province. In contrast to the hot damp climate of the rain forest areas of the Southwest Province, the dry climate of the upland grass savannahs of the Northwest Province permits the use of clay bricks for building purposes, a material which can also be manufactured by unskilled labour. Schools in the Southwest Province are only in a position to supply transportation services in connection with building projects, and the auxiliary services which are provided by the school in housing construction in the Northwest Province are thus carried out by specialists in the Southwest Province on account of the prevailing local ecological conditions. The nature and frequency of the services rendered for the community also vary in line with the extent to which a community is already equipped with essential services (see table 6).

Table 6: Type and Number of Services Rendered per School according to Type of School and Type of Community

Community type	Average number of Services rendered per school		Main type of services rendered
	junior primary school	senior primary school	
Isolated rural communities (1)	0.4	1.0	Transportation of goods
Remote rural communities (2)	1.9	1.0	Transportation of goods, soil cultivation
Marginal rural communities (3)	1.1	2.3	Transportation of goods
Poorly served rural communities (4)	0.9	3.8	Harvesting work, auxiliary building work
Well served rural communities (5)	1.3	2.1	Harvesting work
Communities in urban or suburban areas (6)	-	0.2	Auxiliary building work
Total	0.9	1.7	

Whereas in lower primary schools no clear picture could be obtained, it was observed that in the case of the senior primary schools the average number of commissions per school increased in proportion to the infrastructural level reached by the community. The maximum was recorded at 3.8 commissions per school in communities in poorly served rural areas, but lay still well above the average of 1.6 at 2.1 commissions per school in well served rural communities, to become finally insignificant at 0.2 commissions per school in communities in urban areas. The absence or lack of

transport connections in marginal, remote or isolated communities imply a number of commissions for the schools which primarily consist of transporting agricultural products. In remote areas recourse is also had to the school for assistance in farm activities. The more local agriculture is dominated by the cultivation of cash crops, in particular cocoa and coffee, the greater is the role of the school during the harvesting season, especially in the infrastructurally better equipped communities. Schools in urban or suburban areas were found to have the lowest number of commissions; those commissions which they do execute are primarily supply services for construction projects.

One further important factor which co-determines the practice of contract work is whether or not it is customary in the locality to carry out agricultural work in groups. Men belonging to one particular social group or age group join together to form Njangis, teams which either work the fields of the group members in turn or carry out agricultural work in the community in return for payment.[1/] If such groups become specialized in specific techniques, e.g. pruning coffee plants or spraying cash crops, the school has every prospect of being called upon to carry out simple agricultural tasks. However, if the Njangis are primarily specialized in harvesting work, this area of activity is then no longer open to the school for contract work. Being less skilled and less well organized than the Njangis, the schools then have to resort to auxiliary work outside the agricultural sphere.

1/ "There is ... a common traditional practice whereby farmers group themselves in a self-help group or gang. They work successively from one farm to the other. Whenever it is one's turn, he prepares food and drinks for the self-help gang ... it is called Njangi in Pidgin English", EJEDEPANG-KOGE, S. N. (1975), Tradition and Change in Peasant Activities (Yaoundé), p. 163 f.

2.5. Community Use of School Facilities

The various school facilities can also be used outside school hours by community members who are not attending school. The attractiveness of the school and its facilities for the community can lie in the fact that, in default of corresponding public facilities, the school is able to offer recreational and educational opportunities. Whereas in western countries large schools are often combined with community centres which are equipped with libraries, gymnasia, workshops, theatre facilities, swimming pools, etc., in African countries the schools do not have such elaborate facilities. The primary schools normally consist of a few classrooms and a sports field. Yet even without sophisticated facilities such as a community centre, in local terms the school nevertheless often has a relative attraction insofar as its facilities can also be used for extra-school activities. If, for example, the school is the only building in an African village which is covered with a rainproof corrugated iron roof, it is obvious that general meetings which are not necessarily tied to traditional assembly places should be held there. In many cases such practical considerations are compounded by the fact that the village community has often itself jointly provided the funds required to equip the school buildings in this manner; the school thus becomes one component of village facilities which can be used by all community members. The situation is similar with regard to sports grounds which, although mainly located on the school premises, have usually been laid out jointly with the community and are thus naturally available to all community members for use outside school hours.

In the Cameroonian primary schools it is primarily the classrooms and the sports grounds which are made available for extra-school activities. Eighty percent of all sample schools had several classrooms which were roofed with corrugated iron; a further 10 % had at least one classroom which was thus rainproofed, and only the remaining 10 % had roofs made exclusively

of local materials. With the exception of two schools, all had a sports ground, and 63 % also had a handball pitch. Seventy-five percent of the schools even had a football pitch.

The situation was found to be less favourable with respect to school libraries. Twenty-two percent of the schools (17 schools) had a collection of books of the most diverse types, but in only 12 of these schools did this 'library' consist of more than 50 books. The books themselves are primarily American and English factual and fictional works for children which originated from donations made by charitable organizations in the early 1960s. Lower primary schools, which are mainly located in isolated and remote areas, were found to have no books. Although 43 % of the senior primary schools had a collection of books, it was only in two instances that these were also used by adult members of the community not employed by the school.

The availability of a first-aid kit in schools for use in the event of illness or accident can be of importance for the whole community, especially in those communities in which no medical or hospital services are available. Eight schools were found to possess such a first-aid kit, four of these being in isolated and remote communities and the remaining four in urban areas. In communities with no health services, teachers have repeatedly underlined the communal importance of equipping the school with a first-aid kit.

A number of primary schools were also found to have domestic science centres or manual arts centres on the premises, although such facilities are not used by the community outside school hours. One explanation for this could be that the majority of these centres are located in infrastructurally well served communities in which specialized services are already available, e.g. community development organizations or denominational organizations which offer programmes for adults and youths. Those centres which are located in less well equipped communities failed to provide opportunities for the

local adult population. Of the school facilities mentioned above which are of potential interest to the community, only the classrooms and the sports ground are in fact of relevance. Nonetheless, in places where community members do use the classrooms for extra-school activities, the teachers are often present either as regular members of a group which meets in a school or as the organizers of events intended for community groups which do not attend school.

Table 7 provides a survey of the actual use made of school facilities and contrasts these with proposals made by the teachers for future extra-school purposes. The school premises are most often used by the communities for activities which are closely linked with the school's main function, namely, lessons in reading and writing and moral and religious instruction. In every fourth school of the sample the classrooms are used for religious services or for coaching the pupils for the final examination. Good examination results enhance the reputation of the teachers in the community and also generate additional earnings insofar as many parents are prepared to make financial sacrifices for this additional tuition. In fact, all community-oriented activities diminish in significance in the final school year, when the imminent examination even determines the nature of school activities outside school hours. By organizing such special preparatory classes outside regular school hours, the teachers indeed satisfy a strong community need, namely, the parents' desire to obtain access for their children to secondary school.

Alongside religious activities which are held in the classrooms and are often organized by the teachers, the latter also arrange literacy courses for adults or provide instruction in French to anyone who is interested, although these services are found in only a minority of the schools. By offering such services the school is in fact acting in line with the theoretical concepts of development orientation, albeit without a framework of regional organization. As the teachers' proposals for extending

the development-related activities to school reveal, the scope of literacy courses could indeed be expanded considerably; in 20 % of all schools an additional number of teachers are prepared to provide instruction for adults for an appropriate amount of remuneration. Adult French language courses for which sufficient demand exists owing to the designation of both French and English as official languages in Cameroon, are also considered by the teacher to be a constructive activity which the school could carry out for the community.

Table 7: Use of School Facilities during Non-School Hours for Community Purposes and Proposals Made by Teachers for Future Use

Type of present use	Sample schools		Proposals for future use*)	
	no.	%	no.	%
Church events				
- services	20	25	-	-
- religious instruction (Sunday School)	13	16	-	-
- choir rehearsals	10	13	-	-
Education measures				
- coaching to prepare for final examination	18	23	6	8
- literacy courses	8	10	16	20
- French language instruction for adults	5	6	7	9
Meetings of politico-cultural groups				
- general community meetings	12	15	10	13
- meetings of the National Unity Party (Cameroon National Union)	11	14	-	-
- meetings of savings associations (credit unions)	4	5	-	-
- meetings of the community council	3	4	-	-
- meetings of women's groups	3	4	-	-
Recreational activities				
- Red Cross groups	12	15		
- boy scout meetings	7	9	6	8
- football clubs	6	8		
- young farmers' clubs	5	6		

*) Teachers in 10 % of the schools investigated were opposed to any use of school facilities after regular school hours.

Other meetings and assemblies of the most diverse types also take place in the schools; and to some extent the schools are also used for organized recreational measures of the modern type, with Red Cross group meetings being quoted the most frequently (in 15% of the schools).

The use of the primary school for extra-school purposes is limited in the first instance by the simplicity and lack of diversity of school facilities. Nevertheless, the classrooms at least are used by the community outside school hours as assembly rooms in default of other local meeting places. Parallel with this there is evidence of emergent activities being carried out by the teachers for the benefit of adults and youths, although these cannot be called development measures. One virtually self-evident activity which is attributable to the primary relation between the school and the community is the work carried out outside regular school hours to prepare final grade pupils for the forthcoming examination. In addition, there is evidence in a few schools of activities which can be attributed to secondary relationships existing between the school and the community, examples here being courses of instruction for adults and the organization of recreational activities.

3. Conclusion

Our investigation shows that cooperation between school and community has become firmly established in Cameroon and is being supported by the provincial school authorities. However, the schools are neither in a position nor are they required to provide for collective improvements in the communities. Their contribution is restricted to preparing the pupils for their examinations, a task which is particularly acceptable to parents in communities in the better-equipped rural areas and in urban areas.

The cooperation between school and community and the approaches made towards a development orientation were observed in the sample area to operate as follows:

(1) Parents-teachers associations offer a number of interested community members a limited forum for the expression of opinions on problems of school maintenance and instruction. The parents bear the major part of the cost of acquisitions and repair work. However, they are not allowed to control the school's local financial transactions.

(2) Community members are only seldom invited to instruct the children. Representatives of government or private development institutions are, as a rule, not available or not active at community level. Even in communities where such institutions have their headquarters, contacts between qualified employees and the local primary schools are only isolated.

(3) Self-help projects in the sample area have a long tradition and are initiated and implemented primarily without the assistance of the school. In exceptional cases the school may render manual assistance (e.g. transportation of building materials or production or air-dried building blocks). In contrast, a number of teachers still frequently serve as secretaries to committees or associations which are concerned with the organization of large-scale self-help projects. The level of development reached by a community itself codetermines the community's requirements and possibilities in terms of improving local living conditions. The better an area is developed, the more technically sophisticated and financially expensive are its development projects (e.g. water supply facilities), and these cannot be implemented without external assistance. From this follows that the primary school becomes increasingly restricted in its possibilities of promoting community development.

(4) The schools assist the communities free of charge by implementing projects which do not require a large volume of technical or financial investment. These goodwill actions relate primarily to the cleaning of public facilities, to hygiene demonstrations, and the organization of leisure-time activities. In ten percent of the schools in the sample area, the teachers stated that they were holding literacy courses for adults. Yet despite the importance of such school activities to rural development, the only communities which reported such activities were those which were inadequately or well equipped in infrastructural terms; no such activities were reported in the very disadvantaged communities. Although development projects of the type mentioned above are an integral part of the curriculum, the practical work is in no way brought into relation with the academic subjects of the curriculum.

(5) In addition to the work performed free of charge by the school for the community, services are rendered for individual community members or institutions by pupils and teachers against payment. In this way the schools acquire funds which may be used for maintenance purposes or for special events. A school's opportunities to undertake this type of work depends on the type of community and the development zone in which the latter is located. As a rule, the work undertaken includes the transportation of agricultural products in remote, isolated communities, harvesting work in well equipped rural communities, and auxiliary services for building projects in urban areas. Here again, these non-school activities are not integrated as a point of departure for instruction in academic subjects. Furthermore, such profitable activities have often been extended to such degree that regular instruction was ultimately impaired.

(6) Use of school facilities by the community for non-school purposes is very restricted. The existence of classrooms and a sports ground cannot compensate for the lack of facilities which might be of interest to youths and adults. In one quarter of the schools, the classrooms are used for ecclesiastical purposes (services, choir rehearsals, religious instruction). The use of classrooms for non-religious assemblies is even more seldom, since other meeting points, frequently of a traditional nature, are available for these purposes. Teachers use the classrooms during non-school hours primarily for school-oriented purposes such as the provision of additional instruction to examination candidates and, in exceptional cases, for literacy courses or French language courses for adults.

(7) Rural science instruction is an integral part of the primary school curriculum, and practical work is performed on the school's own farm. However, rural science is of little relevance to the final school-leaving examination and of no relevance to the secondary school entrance examination.

Rural science instruction in its present form does not contribute much towards development. Frequently, the school farms simply reflect local conditions and fail to offer an impetus for improvement or innovation in the communities. While schools in remote areas adapt themselves to the local low level of soil cultivation, schools in well equipped rural communities are adapted to the yield increasing methods which are customary in these areas. No use is made of the possibility of demonstrating agricultural innovations or of providing extension services to interested farmers, and the lack of external influence is not compensated by internal efficiency. No link is established via either content or methodology between theoretical instruction and practical work on the field.

(8) Elements of local culture are incorporated into a variety of school activities. Apart from very few exceptions, these activities are not included into the life of the community. They are frequently undertaken incidental to or in isolation from cultural events at community level.

Instruction in local culture at school is not used to promote a critical discussion on the traditional modes of behaviour and forms of expression of a variety of cultural groups but to facilitate the initiation of the pupil into the school. Once the first years at school are over, this cultural element is manifest only in the practising of traditional dances and songs and, often for lack of other reasonable sports activities, in sports instruction

In the anglophone provinces of Cameroon, most of the school activities which were originally intended to contribute towards improving local conditions have since developed into mere routine tasks. Although still considered by all concerned to be the job of the school, these activities have lost their function. The type and scope of the school's development orientation is determined by the teachers, while the community members have become supernumeraries with only little understanding for and interest in the so-called extended tasks of the school.

A development orientation in the primary schools of Black Africa which seeks to assist the communities in solving their urgent problems has been realized only to a limited extent, for a short period of time and at great expense. Even projected to regional and national level, such a development orientation cannot be regarded as an alternative to the removal of regional imbalances by social and economic reform. Aspects of development orientation have therefore found expression only in fictitious reforms or individual projects which cannot replace overall societal reforms. The possibilities of the primary school to contribute towards rural development can materialize only in connection with reforms aiming at creating the political preconditions for a self-reliant and self-determined development.

Bibliography

BARBIER, J. C. et al. (1979) L'exode rural au Cameroun (Yaoundé).

BERGMANN, H./BUDE, U. (1977) A survey of Primary Schools and their Communities for General Education Policy-Making: The case of two Provinces in Cameroon, in: International Review of Education (XXIII/1), pp. 3-34.

BUDE, U. (1983) The impact of school farms on the local community. Evidence and proposals from Cameroon, in: Bude, U. (Ed.) Teaching Agricultural and Environmental Science in Primary School (Bonn), pp. 333-358.

BUDE, U. (1984) Gemeindeorientierte Primarschulen als Faktor ländlicher Entwicklung in Schwarzafrika. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen eines Reformkonzepts (Community-oriented Primary Schools and Rural Development. Possibilities and Limitations of a Reform Concept) (Hamburg).

DORE, R. and MARS, Z (Eds.) (1981) Community Development — Comparative Case Studies in India, the Republic of Korea, Mexico and Tanzania (Croom Helm, London/UNESCO, Paris).

EJEDEPANG-KOGE, S. N. (1975) Tradition and Change in Peasant Activities (Yaoundé).

IPAR-Buea (1977) Report on the Reform of Primary Education (Buea, April).

IPAR-Yaoundé (1974) L'étude des milieux en vue de leur transformation: Une discipline nouvelle au cours de la réforme de l'enseignement primaire (Yaoundé).

KHOI, LE THANH (1976) Aspects of Educational Reform and Planning in Cameroon (Draft Report, English Version((Buea/Cameroon).

MAKAU, B. M./SOMERSET, H.C.A. (1978) Primary School Leaving Examinations, Basic Intellectual Skills, and Equity: Some Evidence from Kenya, in: King, K. (Ed.) Literacy Research in Developing Countries, pp. 45-79.

PROVINCIAL DELEGATION OF EDUCATION (1972/73) General Report on Primary School Inspection (South West Provincial Delegation of Education, Buea)

RAHNEMA, M. (1978) Problems of Basic Education in the Emerging World, in: Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries, Education 'At the Base' in Developing Countries (The Hague/The Netherlands), pp. 1-15.

SAUNDERS, M. S. (1979) Locality and the Curriculum: Towards a Positive Critique, in: Comparative Education (Vol. 15, No. 2, June), pp. 217-230.

UNESCO, Regional Office for Education in Africa (BREDA) (1974) Final Report of the Seminar on the Reform of the Primary School Curriculum (Dakar).